

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

71R
ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 /023 R

DRAFTED BY INR/RSE:IVMATUSEK:ECH
APPROVED BY INR:HSAUNDERS
M - MR. EAGLEBURGER
- MR. COLLUMS
S/S - PSBRIDGES

----- 024169

P 052335Z AUG 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: XH, PINT, PGOV

SUBJECT: STATEMENTS BY EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADERS

REF: SECTO 20018
SAUNDERS FOR SECRETARY

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENTS MADE IN THE IMMEDIATE
POST-WW II PERIOD BY EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADERS AND
PARTIES ON PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND WAYS TO ACHIEVE
SOCIALISM WHICH WE HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS:

BULGARIA

2. AT THE NOVEMBER 7, 1945 CELEBRATION COMMEMORATING THE
28TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, GEORGI
DIMITROV, FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COMINTERN AND
BULGARIA'S GREATEST COMMUNIST HERO, SAID:

-----"THE ASSERTION THAT THE COMMUNISTS ALLEGEDLY WANT
-----TO SEIZE FULL POWER OR THAT THEY HAVE SEIZED FULL
-----POWER, THAT THEY RULE EVERYWHERE, IS A MALICIOUS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

-----LEGEND AND SLANDER. IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE

-----COMMUNISTS WANT TO HAVE A SINGLE PARTY GOVERNMENT".

3. IN THE SAME SPEECH, DIMITROV ASKED FOR APPROVAL OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT, THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED COALITION, AND PROMISED THAT:

-----"...THIS WILL NOT BE A SOVIET POWER, THIS WILL NOT
-----BE THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, BUT THERE WILL BE
-----LAW AND ORDER, A REGIME OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
-----FORCES, CONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY,
-----AND THE GUARANTEEING OF OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND
-----OUR STATE SOVEREIGNTY."
---- -- IZVESTIYA. NOVEMBER 13, 1945.

4. IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE WORKERS PARTY CONGRESS (COMMUNIST) ON FEBRUARY 27, 1946, DIMITROV SAID:

---- "THE CRUX OF THE MATTER, AND WE MARXISTS SHOULD KNOW
---- THIS WELL, IS THIS: EVERY NATION WILL EFFECT ITS
---- TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM NOT BY A MAPPED-OUT ROUTE,
---- NOT EXACTLY AS IN THE SOVIET UNION, BUT BY ITS OWN
---- ROAD, DEPENDENT ON ITS HISTORICAL, NATIONAL, SOCIAL,
---- AND CULTURAL CIRCUMSTANCES."
---- -- POLITICAL AFFAIRS. VOLUME 25. NEW YORK. 1946.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

5. IN JANUARY 1947, KLEMENT GOTTWALD, CHAIRMAN OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY AND PREMIER OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC, ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS OF LEO LANII, EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT OF FREE WORLD MAGAZINE:

---- "1. DOES THE COMMUNIST PARTY INTEND TO USE THE SOVIET
---- SYSTEM AS A BASIS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM
---- IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

---- "THE COMMUNIST PARTY SEEKS TO ATTAIN SOCIALISM, BUT
---- WE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE SOVIET SYSTEM IS NOT
---- THE ONLY ROAD TO SOCIALISM. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
---- HITLER'S FASCISM, THEN THE VICTORY OVER IT, WERE
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

---- EVENTS OF GREAT REVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE, WHICH
---- CREATED CONDITIONS IN MANY COUNTRIES - INCLUDING OUR
---- OWN--FOR PEACEFUL EVOLUTION TOWARD SOCIALISM. I
---- BELIEVE THAT NOT ONLY ARE WE CAPABLE OF ATTAINING
---- SOCIALISM BY A ROUTE DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE
---- SOVIET EXAMPLE, BUT THAT WE HAVE ALREADY EMBARKED IN
---- THAT DIRECTION. THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND
---- THE NEW POPULAR SYSTEM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION ARE

---- FIRST LANDMARKS ON THIS PATH.

---- "2. DOES THE COMMUNIST PARTY INTEND TO CONTINUE THE
---- POLITICAL COALITION WITH OTHER PARTIES EVEN AFTER THE
---- FULFILLMENT OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC PLAN?

---- "THE COALITION OF THE COMMUNISTS WITH OTHER PARTIES IS
---- NOT OPPORTUNISTIC, A TEMPORARY LIMITED COALITION, BUT
---- THE EXPRESSION IN THE NATIONAL FRONT OF ALL STRATA OF
---- THE WORKING PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE EXPRESSION
---- OF THE UNITY OF ALL STRATA WHO AGREE ON THE BASIC
---- TASKS OF THE STATE I KNOW OF NO REASONS WHY THIS
---- UNITY SHOULD BE ENDED OR BROKEN AFTER THE FULFILLMENT
---- OF THE TWO-YEAR PLAN; ON THE CONTRARY, I THINK THAT
---- IT SHOULD REMAIN AND WILL REMAIN AS A MAIN FORCE IN
---- OUR FURTHER SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT.

---- "3. DO PRESENT EXPERIENCES JUSTIFY THE CONCLUSION
---- THAT THE USE OF PARLIAMENTARY AND DEMOCRATIC METHODS,
---- WHICH ARE BEING USED PRESENTLY IN YOUR COUNTRY, WILL
---- REMAIN VALID ALSO IN THE FUTURE?"

---- "WE SEEK AT PRESENT TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT OUR NEW
---- DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY METHODS, COMPRISING THE
---- SYSTEM CALLED PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, BE EXPRESSED IN
---- CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. IF YOU WANT THE VIEW OF THE
---- COMMUNISTS, I CAN ONLY SAY THAT THEY WILL BE THE
---- STRICTEST GUARDIANS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION."
---- -- KLEMENT GOTTWALD 1946-48. VOLUME 1. PRAGUE:
----- SVOBODA. 1949.

EAST GERMANY

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

6. ON JUNE 12, 1945, THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY ISSUED AN
"INAUGURAL PROCLAMATION," WHICH STATED THAT:

---- "... SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE DESTRUCTION OF HITLERISM,
---- WE MUST ALSO CARRY THROUGH TO COMPLETION THE TASKS
---- OF DEMOCRATISING GERMANY AND OF TRANSFORMING THE
---- BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, WHICH WERE BEGUN IN 1848;
---- AND WE MUST COMPLETELY ERADICATE THE REMAINS OF
---- FEUDALISM AND DESTROY THE TRADITION OF REACTIONARY
---- PRUSSIAN MILITARISM, WITH ALL ITS ECONOMIC AND
---- POLITICAL ACCRETIONS. WE TAKE THE VIEW THAT THE
---- METHOD OF IMPOSING THE SOVIET SYSTEM ON GERMANY WOULD
---- BE WRONG, SINCE THIS METHOD DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO
---- PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT IN GERMANY. WE
---- TAKE THE VIEW RATHER THAT THE OVERRIDING INTERESTS

---- OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE IN THEIR PRESENT-DAY SITUATION
---- PRESCRIBE A DIFFERENT METHOD FOR GERMANY, NAMELY

---- THE METHOD OF ESTABLISHING A DEMOCRATIC ANTI-FASCIST
---- REGIME, A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC WITH FULL
---- DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES FOR THE PEOPLE."
---- --QUOTED IN CHILD OF THE REVOLUTION, BY WOLFGANG
---- LEONHARD, LOND: COLLINS. 1958.

HUNGARY

7. IN A NOVEMBER 7, 1944 ADDRESS IN SZEGED, COMMEMORATING
THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, ERNO GERO,
LATER TO BECOME HUNGARIAN PARTY FIRST SECRETARY, SAID:

---- "THE GREAT NATIONAL TASK FACING THE COUNTRY CANNOT
---- BE SOLVED BY EITHER THE COMMUNIST PARTY OR BY ANY
---- OTHER PARTY ALONE. THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL ASSUME
---- ITS OWN SHARE OF THE TASKS OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.
---- BUT THE COMMUNIST PARTY HOLDS THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE
---- A MONOPOLY, AND IT DOES NOT NEED THE MONOPOLY, TO
---- WORK AMONG THE MASSES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE
---- NEW HUNGARY. THE COMMUNIST PARTY DOES NOT APPROVE OF
---- THE IDEA OF A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM. LET THE OTHER PARTIES
---- OPERATE AND ORGANIZE AS WELL. FROM THIS TRIBUNE, I
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

---- APPEAL, IN THE NAME OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE HUNGARIAN
---- COMMUNIST PARTY, TO THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIAL
---- DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE SMALLHOLDERS PARTY AND TO THOSE
---- OF ALL THE OTHER PROGRESSIVE PARTIES TO BEGIN AND
---- CONTINUE THEIR ACTIVITIES.

---- "THERE ARE CERTAIN COMMUNISTS WHO, CASTING THEIR EYES
---- TO THE SOVIET UNION, THINK THAT THE ISSUE IN HUNGARY
---- IS TO DEVELOP SOCIALISM. THIS IS NOT THE STANDPOINT
---- OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. OUR CONVICTION IS
---- THAT, WITH UNITED FORCE, WE HAVE TO CREATE AN INDE-
---- PENDENT, DEMOCRATIC (AND) PEOPLE'S HUNGARY.

---- "THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAVE FOUND THE ROAD TO THE
---- COUNTRY'S SALVATION ACCORDING TO ITS OWN SPECIFIC
---- CIRCUMSTANCES. AS FOR US, WE HAVE TO FIND OUR OWN
---- PATH APPLICABLE TO OUR CONDITIONS."
---- --STRUGGLE FOR THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S ECONOMY.
---- BUDAPEST: SZIKRA. 1950.

8. IN A DECEMBER 3, 1944, ADDRESS ESTABLISHING THE
HUNGARIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FRONT, JOZSEF REVAI, WHO

WAS TO BECOME A DEPUTY PREMIER IN THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT

AND PARTY POLITBURO MEMBER IN CHARGE OF CULTURAL/IDEOLOGICAL AFFAIRS, STATED:

---- "I SOLEMNLY DECLARE THAT WE COMMUNISTS WILL BE DISCIPLINED AND LOYAL SOLDIERS OF THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FRONT. I DECLARE THAT WE DO NOT REGARD THE NATIONAL COLLABORATION (OF THE SEVERAL PARTIES) AS A PASSING, POLITICAL COALITION, AS A TACTICAL CHESS MOVE, BUT RATHER A LONG-LASTING ALLIANCE. WE WILL STAND BY OUR GIVEN WORD."
--- -- DELMAGYARORSZAG, SZEGED, DECEMBER 4, 1944.

9. AT THE 3RD HUNGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER 1946, MATYAS RAKOSI, LONG-TIME STALINIST LEADER OF THE PARTY, DECLARED:

---- "IN THE LAST QUARTER CENTURY, THE COMMUNIST PARTIES
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

---- HAVE LEARNED THAT THERE ARE SEVERAL ROADS LEADING TO SOCIALISM, BUT THE ROAD TAKEN BY EACH COUNTRY SHOWS THAT WE HAVE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION OUR OWN CONDITIONS. WE HAVE ALSO LEARNED THAT THE MORE ELEMENTS OF SOCIALISM ARE BUILT UP ALREADY IN THE (PHASE OF) PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, THE EASIER, FASTER, AND WITH LESS BLOOD-LETTING AND SACRIFICE CAN THE TRANSITION BE ACCOMPLISHED, AND WE CAN SAVE OURSELVES FROM THE GREATER PART OF THE CONSIDERABLE SUFFERING THAT HAS BEEN THE LOT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLES WHEN THEY EMBARKED ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM. LEARNING FROM THESE LESSONS WE BUILD THE HUNGARIAN DEMOCRACY NOT OUT OF TACTICAL CONSIDERATION BUT FROM DEEP COMMUNIST CONVICTION. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THIS SOCIALISM, ALTHOUGH IT ACCEPTS AS ITS OWN THE WHOLE TREASURY OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE, CAN COME ABOUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF THE HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE RESULTS OF THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL FORCES. INSTEAD OF THE SHARPENING OF THE INTERNAL CRISES AND ANTAGONISMS, OUR ROAD IS THAT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, DOMESTIC PEACE, AND NATIONAL UNITY.
---- -- MATYAS RAKOSI: SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES.
----- BUDAPEST: SZIKRA. 1955.

10. IN 1949, REVAI, COMMENTING ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF POWER IN HUNGARY, WROTE:

---- "...WITH US, THERE ARE NOT ONLY COMMUNISTS IN THE
---- GOVERNMENT, BUT ALSO SMALLHOLDERS AND PEASANT PARTY

-----MEMBERS. WITH US, THIS GOVERNMENT, THIS CABINET,
-----IS STILL A COALITION GOVERNMENT. DOES THIS COALITION
-----OF OUR PARTY WITH THE SMALLHOLDERS' AND PEASANT
-----PARTIES MEAN THAT WE EXERCISE LEADERSHIP TOGETHER
-----WITH THEM, THAT WITH US POWER IS DIVIDED BETWEEN
-----THE WORKING CLASS AND THE WORKING PEASANTRY?

-----"FORMALLY, ALSO WITH US THERE ARE ELEMENTS OF THE
-----DIVISION OF POWER AND LEADERSHIP. BUT IN FACT,
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

-----COMRADES, IT IS THE WORKING CLASS WHICH ALONE IS IN
-----POWER, IN FACT IT IS OUR PARTY ALONE WHICH RUNS
-----THE STATE MACHINE.

-----"OF COURSE THE FACT THAT TODAY WE STILL SHARE,
-----THOUGH BUT FORMALLY, THE LEADERSHIP WITH OTHER
-----PARTIES HAS SOME SIGNIFICANCE. THIS INDICATES THAT
-----THE ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF THE WORK-
-----ING PEASANTRY ISN'T CLOSE ENOUGH AS YET, THAT WE
-----DIDN'T AS YET ORGANIZE THE PEASANTRY TIGHTLY ENOUGH
-----AROUND THE WORKING CLASS."
----- --"ON THE CHARACTER OF OUR PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY",
----- TARSADALMI SZEMLE. BUDAPEST. MARCH-APRIL 1949.

11. ON FEBRUARY 29, 1952, RAKOSI, IN A LECTURE TO THE
HIGHER PARTY ACADEMY OF THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS (COMMUNIST)
PARTY ON "THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY AND TAC-
TICS OF OUR PARTY AFTER THE LIBERATION," EXPLAINED THE
"SALAMI TACTICS" WHICH THE PARTY HAD USED TO SEIZE POWER:

-----"EARLY IN 1945, WHEN OUR COUNTRY HAD BEEN
-----LIBERATED AND WHEN, AFTER 25 YEARS OF UNDERGROUND
-----WORK, THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY WAS ABLE TO
-----SHOW ITSELF LEGALLY AND OPENLY IN THE ARENA OF
-----POLITICAL LIFE, WE FOUND THAT A GOOD PART OF OUR
-----COMMUNISTS FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THE STRATEGY
----- AND TACTICS OF OUR PARTY.

-----"WHAT WERE THE STRATEGIC AIMS OF OUR PARTY AT THE
-----TIME? JUST LIKE THE OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE
-----COUNTRIES OPPRESSED BY HITLER DURING WORLD WAR II,
-----THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, TOO, CONSIDERED AS
-----ITS MOST IMPORTANT TASK THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
-----GERMAN FASCIST OCCUPIERS. TO THIS END, BROAD-
-----BASED ANTI-FASCIST COALITIONS WERE SET UP BY THE
-----COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THESE COUNTRIES IN ACCORDANCE

-----WITH THE ADVICE AND DIRECTIVES GIVEN BY COMRADE
-----STALIN. THESE COALITIONS INCLUDED ANTI-HITLER
-----PEASANTS, THE SMALL BOURGEOISIE, AND EVEN ELEMENTS
-----OF THE MIDDLE-LEVEL BOURGEOISIE OPPOSED TO HITLER--
-----IN BRIEF, ALL
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

-----THOSE WHO WERE READY TO TAKE PART IN THE STRUGGLE
-----FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. THE COMMUNIST PARTIES
-----FORESAW THAT THE VICTORY IN THIS HARD STRUGGLE
-----WOULD NOT ONLY MEAN THE DEFEAT OF NAZI BARBARISM,
-----BUT ALSO THE OVERTHROW OF THE ALLIES OF FASCISM,
-----THE BIG, FEUDAL LANDOWNERS AND THE BIG CAPITALISTS.
-----IT COULD BE FORESEEN THAT THIS VICTORY WOULD ALSO
-----OPEN THE ROAD TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.
-----ACCORDING TO THIS PLAN, WE BEGAN OUR WORK BY ORGANIZ-
-----ING THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FRONT -- A
-----COALITION OF PARTIES AND ELEMENTS HOSTILE TO NAZI
-----IMPERIALISM AND FEUDALISM.

-----"UNTIL MARCH 1946, OUR CHIEF EFFORTS WERE AIMED
-----AT THE ELIMINATION OF FASCISM AND THE LIQUIDATION OF
-----THE FEUDAL ESTATES; NO GENERAL WAR WAS AS YET DECLARED
-----ON THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. NOW A NEW TURN BEGAN:
-----NOT YET AN ALL-OUT ASSAULT AGAINST CAPITALISM, BUT
-----ONE OF SEIZING SUCH IMPORTANT AND EXPOSED FORWARD
-----POSITIONS OF THE CAPITALISTS WHICH PROMOTED AND
-----FACILITATED OUR CONTINUED PROGRESS TOWARD THE
-----DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. IN CONTINUATION OF
-----THE SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-ATTACK LAUNCHED IN MARCH 1946,
-----THE PROCESS OF UNMASKING, ELIMINATING, AND ISOLATING
-----REACTIONARY ELEMENTS WITHIN THE SMALLHOLDERS' PARTY
-----CONTINUED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION. THE SMALLHOLDERS'
-----PARTY WAS COMPELLED WITHOUT LETUP TO EXCLUDE OR
-----ELIMINATE MEMBERS SINGLY OR IN GROUPS WHO THUS BECAME
-----COMPROMISED. THIS SMALL, MINIATURE WORK WAS THEN
-----CALLED 'SALAMI TACTICS,' A PROCESS BY WHICH WE HAVE,
-----DAY-BY-DAY, SLICED UP THE REACTION THAT WAS HIDING
-----WITHIN THE SMALLHOLDERS' PARTY,"
-----MATYAS RAKOSI: SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES.
----- BUDAPEST: SZIKRA. 1955.

POLAND

12. ON DECEMBER 7, 1945, WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, WHO WAS ONCE
THE MOST OUTSPOKEN POLISH PARTY LEADER ADVOCATING A POLISH
PATH TO SOCIALISM, ASSERTED:

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

----- "WE COMPLETELY REJECT THE ACCUSATION MADE AGAINST US
----- BY THE REACTIONARIES THAT WE WILL IMPOSE A ONE-PARTY
----- SYSTEM. WE DO NOT WANT A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM, AND WE
----- ARE NOT MOVING TOWARD IT."
----- --QUOTED IN GOMULKA: HIS POLAND AND HIS COMMUNISM,
----- BY NICHOLAS BETHELL. LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN
----- AND CO. LTD. 1969

13. OPENING THE PEASANT PARTY CONGRESS ON JANUARY 13,
1946, GOMULKA SAID:

----- "IN POLAND THERE IS A DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS, AND
----- STATE POWER IS BASED ON PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.
----- THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT OR OF A SINGLE
----- PARTY IS NOT ESSENTIAL. POLAND CAN PROCEED AND IS
----- PROCEEDING ALONG HER OWN ROAD."
----- --GLOS LUDU. WARSAW. JANUARY 14, 1946.

14. IN A NOVEMBER 29, 1946 ADDRESS TO A JOINT MEETING OF
ACTIVISTS OF THE PPS (SOCIALISTS) AND PPR (COMMUNISTS),
AFTER THESE TWO PARTIES HAD AGREED ON A COMMON PROGRAM,
GOMULKA STATED:

----- "...ON THE BASIS OF UNITY OF ACTION OF BOTH WORKERS'
----- PARTIES, WITH CLOSE COOPERATION WITH OTHER DEMO-
----- CRATIC PARTIES, THE POLISH WORKERS PARTY ESTABLISHED
----- THE CONCEPT OF THE POLISH WAY OF DEVELOPMENT TOWARD
----- SOCIALISM. THIS CONCEPT IS SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE IT
----- DOES NOT INCLUDE THE NECESSITY OF A VIOLENT, REVOLU-
----- TIONARY, POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
----- POLAND AND ELIMINATES THE NECESSITY OF A DICTA-
----- TORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT...."
----- --POLITICAL AFFAIRS. VOLUME 26, NEW YORK. 1947.

15. ON THE EVE OF THE POLISH ELECTIONS IN JANUARY 1947,
GOMULKA DECLARED:

----- "...WE HAVE CHOSEN OUR OWN POLISH ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT
----- WHICH WE HAVE NAMED THAT OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 194916 TOSEC 200068

----- ALONG THIS ROAD AND UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS, THE DICTA-
----- TORSHIP OF A SINGLE PARTY IS NEITHER ESSENTIAL NOR
----- PURPOSEFUL.... OUR DEMOCRACY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

----- BUILT UP AND CONSOLIDATED BY US ARE UNPRECEDENTED IN
----- HISTORY. OUR EXPERIENCE SO FAR DEMONSTRATES THAT
----- THEY WILL SUCCESSFULLY PASS THE TEST OF LIFE.
----- POLAND CAN PROCEED AND IS PROCEEDING ALONG HER OWN
----- ROAD...ALONG WHICH OUR PARTY DESIRES TO LEAD HER."
----- --NOWE DROGI. WARSAW. JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1947.

YUGOSLAVIA

16. IN AN AUGUST 1944 LETTER TO DR. IVAN SUBASIC, PREMIER
OF THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, TITO MADE THE
FOLLOWING STATEMENT ABOUT THE GOAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

----- "THE YUGOSLAV NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS IN
----- ESSENCE AN ALL-PEOPLE'S (OPCENARODNI), NATIONAL,
----- DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. IN THIS REGARD, WE ONCE MORE
----- EMPHASIZE THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE YUGOSLAV
----- NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS CONCERNED WITH THE
----- ONLY AND MOST IMPORTANT GOAL--THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
----- THE OCCUPIER AND HIS SERVANTS AND THE CREATION OF
----- A DEMOCRATIC, FEDERATIVE YUGOSLAVIA, AND NOT THE
----- ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNISM AS ALLEGED BY OUR ENEMIES.
----- --QUOTED BY TITO IN "POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL
----- COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA -
----- 5TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA,
----- JULY 21-28, 1948."
----- --KULTURA. BELGRADE. 1949. HABIB

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, SPEECHES, COMMUNISTS, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE194916
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IVMATUSEK:ECH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760302-0905
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760881/aaaacsuo.tel
Line Count: 466
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN INR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 SECTO 20018
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 APR 2004 by ReddocGW>; APPROVED <09 DEC 2004 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: STATEMENTS BY EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADERS
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, XH
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006